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FROM : AMEMBASSY, TAIPEI MAR 31 1954

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REF : Embassy Despatch 532, March 19, 1954, "K. C. WU Controversy with Chinese Government."

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SUBJECT: Answer to K. C. WU Charges by Political Department of the

Ministry of National Defense

Up to the present time, the Chinese press in Taipei has responded to the charges made by K. C. WU by condemning him as a traitor and fastening upon him the label of corruption while Governor of Formosa. No general attempt has been made to answer Wu directly. However, a partial exception to the general avoidance of discussion of the substance of his charges occurred in an editorial published by the Young Warrior (Ch'ing Er Chan Shih Pao) on March 18. This newspaper is the organ of the Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense which is under the direction of Lt. General CHIANG Ching-kuo. A translation of the editorial is forwarded with this despatch.

An essential part of the criticism made by Wu was directed at Chiang Ching-kuo: in particular, the statement that President Chiang was attempting to build up a dynasty, the attacks on the Political Department of the Army and the Youth Corps (both led by Chiang Ching-kuo), and the charge that important officials of the National Government were fostering the belief that to fight Communism an adoption of Communist methods was necessary. The editorial in question deals essentially with the last of the criticisms -- the question of the methods most likely to lead to the successful recovery of the mainland.

Shortly over a year ago, during a previous visit of Dr. HU Shih to Formosa, there was a small flurry in the press over an ideological dispute between Dr. Hu and Chiang Ching-kuo as to the role of individual freedom in Free China. In answer to the urging of Dr. Hu that every Chinese citizen fight to uphold his right to freedom of speech, Chiang, through the medium of the Young Warrior, stated that the independence of the State was more important than the freedom of the individual and that personal views must be sacrificed and brought into harmony with the will of the Leader.¹

1. Embassy Despatch 326, January 23, 1953, "Ideological Conflict Between Dr. HU Shih and General CHIANG Ching-kuo"; Embassy Despatch 359, January 12, 1953, "Press Comment Regarding Dr. HU Shih's Emphasis on Personal Freedom".

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The present editorial carries the title "Maintain Firmly Our Revolutionary Principles and Struggle to the End". It opens with the statement that China, although entitled by size and population to be one of the greatest countries in the world, in the past was enfeebled by imperialistic aggression, autocratic oppression, and internal disorder. The National Revolution under Dr. SUN Yat-sen set about correcting this situation. Its power lay in the combination of two forces: belief in the democratic principle and the adoption of effective revolutionary methods. The overthrow of the Ching dynasty, the Northern Expedition, and the victorious conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War were all the result of this union. The failure on the mainland in 1949 was proof that without revolutionary methods, the democratic principle could not be protected.

Three methods used by "counter-revolutionary" enemies who wish to destroy the National Revolution are listed in the editorial: (1) denunciation of the Government as totalitarian to obscure acceptance of the democratic goal; (2) attacks upon the use of revolutionary methods in an effort to have the Government abandon the means of effective action; and (3) statements that the democratic principle and the use of revolutionary methods are in conflict in order to confuse people and destroy the revolutionary power. The editorial concludes that, in his attack upon the National Government and the Kuomintang, K. C. WU followed in the footsteps of YUAN Shih-kai, WANG Ching-wei, and MAO Tse-tung.

The same issue of the Young Warrior (March 18) also carried the report of a speech made by General LIU Yu-chang, Garrison Commander for Central Formosa, attacking Wu for his criticism of the Political Department of the Army. General Liu stated that the defeat of the National forces on the mainland was due to the weakness of the system of political work in the army, which had failed to instill a revolutionary spirit in the soldiers. The reason the political department system was not effective on the mainland was because it was slandered and destroyed by the Communists. General Liu continued: "The Political Department is the soul of the Armed Forces. A body without a soul cannot do anything. The National Armed Forces without the Political Department can never win the war against the Communist bandits and Russia, nor can they complete the mission to recover China. Wu, by taking up the old tactics used by the Communists in denouncing the Political Department of the Army, has evidently changed sides."

COMMENT:

The Young Warrior editorial lays a theoretical base for the limitation of democratic development in Free China prior to the achievement of victory over Communism. In the question of the best method to build up strength for the anti-Communist struggle, it points the way to a policy of indoctrination and strong,

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centralized control of the government and army by the revolutionary party -- the Kuomintang -- as an alternative to that advanced by K. C. Wu which would base the government's strength upon the voluntary allegiance of the Formosan people and overseas Chinese won through a progressive democratization of Free China. Acceptance of the premises advanced in the editorial would mean that the basic distinction between Communist and Free China at the present time should lie in the difference in goal which each has set, since both advocate the use of revolutionary means to achieve their respective goal.

CHIANG Kai-shek's decision in 1947 to end the phase of one-party tutelage and inaugurate constitutional government under the Chinese Constitution should have signified the end of the need for revolutionary methods and their abandonment. However, many leaders of the Kuomintang, both in their thinking and their actions, continued to oppose the furtherance of democratic procedures by the National Government at the existing stage of Chinese development and in the face of the Communist threat. One aspect of this opposition at the present time, as presented in the Young Warrior editorial, is generally identified with Chiang Ching-kuo and his supporters. It seems likely that, as a result of the manner in which K. C. Wu has chosen to take his stand, the influence of this latter group within the National Government will be strengthened.

A copy of this despatch has been sent to Hong Kong and Tokyo.

K. L. RANKIN

Enclosure: *[Handwritten signature]*

✓ Editorial "Maintain Firmly Our Revolutionary Principles and Struggle to the End", Young Warrior, March 18, 1954.

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(3-23-54)

MAINTAIN FIRMLY OUR REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES
AND STRUGGLE TO THE END

The existence and the development of the Chinese Nation in the world has a history of about 5,000 years. With a population of 450,000,000 and a territory of 12,000,000 square kilometers, China should have become one of the strongest countries in the world. However, during the past one hundred years, due to imperialistic aggression, autocratic oppression, and rebellions caused by bandits, traitors, warlords, and carpetbaggers, China became instead the poorest and weakest country. In the past sixty years, all patriots have suffered a great deal. Among them, brave heroes directly participated in the revolution, while others contributed their efforts to support the revolution. Everyone was anxious to bring the revolution to a successful end and see our country a strong nation. This is the fundamental power with which our National Father and our present Leader have led us in the National Revolution.

For the past sixty years, whenever the revolutionary power developed stronger, the counter-revolutionary force became more stubborn. When the counter-revolutionary force became more stubborn, the revolutionary power would automatically build itself up. The revolution which overthrew the Ching Dynasty, the unification achieved by the Northern Expedition, the victorious conclusion of the Sino-Japanese conflict, and the present task of anti-Communism and resist-Russia are the four waves in our revolutionary movement. Each represents the most cruel and merciless struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, and each time revolution won the victory. Why? Simply because it observed the principle of San-Min-Chu-Yi and it adopted effective revolutionary means. National revolution is to achieve San-Min-Chu-Yi by means of effective revolutionary methods.

Both success and failure can give us valuable lessons. The National Revolution succeeded each time because it possessed a democratic principle and adopted revolutionary methods. It faced failure when our colleagues did not have full confidence in the democratic principle and the revolutionary method. Therefore, these two things should be considered as one essential element in bringing success to the National Revolution. In the absence of revolutionary methods, the democratic principle cannot be protected. Because of our failure in 1949, we had the most dreadful experience at the cost of our National existence and the history of the nation.

Counter-revolutionists always attempt to destroy these two forces with nefarious schemes. They may be different in appearance; the methods used may be different; and the time may be different. However, they always resort to the following three ways: (1) Denounce the Government under the Principle of

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San-Min-Chu-Yi as an autocratic government in order to deny belief in the democratic principle; (2) Attack our revolutionary method in an attempt to compel us to give up our effective efforts; and (3) Confuse the people by saying that the democratic principle and revolutionary method are in conflict so that they can dissolve the revolutionary power. Yuan Shih-kai, Chang Hsuein, the Northern Warlords, Wang Chin-wei, Mao Tse-tung and all the others used these same old tactics. Today it is rather ridiculous to see a clown like K. C. Wu follow their footsteps and call himself a politician.

Revolution is to materialize democracy, while counter-revolution is only to use democracy as a slogan for opportunism. Those who have allegiance to their country will never be confused by the propaganda of the enemy. Only if we stand firm and fight to the bitter end can we achieve success and materialize democracy. Until we have a free, strong, and prosperous new China, our patriotic fellow citizens shall work hard. Such attacks by our enemy are deadly blows to them. Let us all unite together and march along the only road which can lead us to restore the lost mainland. The National Assembly has asked the Government to dismiss K. C. Wu and bring him back for punishment. It is the unanimous feeling of the whole nation and the best way to rescue China.

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